1: Marty--126 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
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Appendix No. 6
Circle of Baol (Diourbel)
List of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, and their residences.

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Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Amadou Bamba	Ouolof	Diourbel	
Mokhtar Penda	"	"	
Houna Fal	"	"	
Abd Allah Diao	"	"	
Sheik Diop	"	"	
Abd Allah Diop	"	"	
Momar Khari	"	"	
Amadou N'Doaye Diop	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Amadou N'Doumbé	"	"	
Bachir Cissé	"	"	
Issa Diène	"	"	
Mohammed Mostafa	"	Touba	son of A. Bamba.
Mohammed Bachir	"	"	id.
Masemba	"	"	brother of A. Bamba.
Amadou Fadiame	"	"	
Abderrahman Ould Mohammed	"	"	
Momar Mbaké Ould Said	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Sheik Mbaké Bousso	"	Darou	brother-in-law of A. B.
Sheik El-Hadj Bousso	"	"	id.
Abd El-Qader Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Alioune Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	id.
Momar Diara	"	Mbaké	brother of A. Bamba.
Sheik Anta	"	Gaouane	id.
Balla Mbaké	"	"	id.
Youssef Babou	"	"	
Amadou Guèye	"	"	
Moudoune Kassé	"	"	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Sérigne Mbaye	Ouolof	Gaouane	
Amadou Dieng Babou	"	"	
Momar Fati	"	"	nephew of Sh. Anta.
Amadou Bator	"	"	
Gora Bakhoume	"	Toakhamé	
Bira Bigué Dieng	"	Thièpe	
Masemba Fal	"	"	
Matari Mbaké	"	"	
Amadou Digol	"	K. Amadou Digol	
Manel Fal	"	Thiapi (near Bambey)	former head of canton.
Momar Fal	"	Garam-Guéoul	
Mostafa Silla	"	Lambaye	former cadi.
Sérigne Alioun Diouf	"	"	
Meltoufa Khari	"	"	
Amadou Mbaye	"	Palène Khombole	former cadi.

1: Marty--129 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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		Murids Sérignes	Murids Talibés	Islamilized	Total population
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
General Total		281		76,352	182,926

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Appendix No. 8

Circle of Sine-Saloum

List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés. 1/

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

1/ [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

h: Marty--130 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Ndéné Kabou.	Ouolof.	Gagneck.	Ibra Fati.	
Abdoulaye.				
N'Diaye.	"	"	Sheik Anta.	2
Momar N'Dao.	"	Tiakala.	Amadou Fadiame.	
Canton of Nguer.				
Tioumba Kaadji.	"	Maouel.	Sheik Anta.	4
Canton of Diokoul Ganâiaye.				
Makhoudia Dieng.	"	Diokhoul.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Matar Sakho.	Sérère	"	Mamadou Cissé.	1
Baba N'Diaye.	"	Ngodj.	Makhoudia Dieng.	
Biramou Sène.	Ouolof	Soukhoupe.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mamadou Sek.	"	Keur Galoup	Ibra Fati.	2

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Residence of Sine (Fatick).				
Circle of Diakhao.				
Alioune Sek.	Ouolof	Soupa.	Amadou Niang.	4
Sérigne Ma Fal Niang.	"	Darou. Salam.	Moussa N'Doye.	14
Canton of Dioîne.				
Sérigne Touré.	Ouolof	Mbedap.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mandiaye Sèye.	"	Mbelo Khoute.	Moussa N'Doye.	
Madiop N'Diaye.	"	Gadiagne.	Ibra Fati.	
Aliou Diop.	"	"	Alioune Diouf.	
Ibrahima N'Gom.	"	"	"	
Abdou Kane.	"	Mbetite.	Amadou Bamba.	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Maroutte.				
Momar Sek.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	7
Amadou Diao.	"	"	" "	12
Ousmane Lo.	Peul.	Patar.	Alioune Ka.	5
Amadou Khari Mbaké.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	24
Alioune Touré.	"	"	" "	9
Momar Thiam.	"	"	" "	8
Babakar Lao.	"	"	" "	2
Abdou Khadir.	Peul.	Patar.	Sheik Ousman.	9
Momar Thian.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	His father Momar	8
Khar Khan	"	"	Banda Kane.	4
Amadou Ba.	Peul.	"	His father Diam Doura.	3
Canton of Gayokhème.				
Matar Niang.	Ouolof.	N'galagne Koé.	Amadou Bamba.	
Modi Toubé.	"	Ngadiagne.	" "	/151/
Residence of Rip (Nioro) Circle of Oualo-Kayemor.				
Abdoulaye N'Diaye	Ouolof.	Ndienguène.	Amadou Bamba.	
Demba Dioba.	"	Ndioufène.	" "	
Canton of Niom Rip.				
Tamsir Ma Ba.	Ouolof.	Touba.	" "	10
Katim Koumba.	"	Djina Katim.	" "	6

l: Marty--132 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 39
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Names	Origins	Resi= dences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Saback Rip.				
Tamsir Khodia.	Ouolof.	K. Tamsir. Khodia.	Amadou Fadiama.	5
Residence of East Saloum C. of Ndoukoumane - Pakalla				
Aliou Sek.	Ouolof.	Bamba Moussa.	Amadou Bamba.	10
Moussa Sèye.	"	Diolkosse.	Amadou Fadiama.	3
Omar Mèye.	"	Kaffate.	Amadou Bamba.	3
Segni Sar.	"	Dramé.	Amadou Fadiama.	2
Canton of Kougheul.				
Momar Khari Si.	Ouolof.	Sine Matar.	Amadou Mbaké.	12
Mahadame Tiougoun.	"	Diaye Coumda.	Ali Penda Lo.	10

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Notice

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To those who know that the author of these lines is a believer, a Moslem, a man who behaves in accordance with the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars.

Whoever claims to trace his filiation from the said author and does not behave according to the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars is not from him and is not connected with him. No, he is in no way from him.

l: Marty--135 G-4, 5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 39
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Appendix No. 12
Circle of Thiès
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, and the number of their talibés

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Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Residence of Thiès.				
Sheik Ibra Fal.	Ouolof.	Thiès: Darou Baïré.	200	
Abdallah Diop, son of Lat Dior.	"	"		ex-head of Mbakol (Cayor).
Amadou Lo	"	"		originally from Gandiole.
N'Diaye Rokia.	"	"		nephew of Sheik Ibra Fal.
Laba Dioum.	"	"		
Masemba N'Diaye.	"	"		
Amadou N'Doaye	"	"		
Residence of the Sérère Provinces (Fissel).				
Amadou Ndoumbé Baké.	Ouolof	Khabane.	100	at Keur Sérigne Amadou.
Abdoulaye Diao.	"	"	80	at Keur Abdoulaye Diao.
Momar Diagne.	"	"	20	at Dialakh.
Issa Diène.	"	"	50	at Touba.
Malb N'Diaye.	"	"	20	
Amadou Lamine M'Baye.	"	Sassal.	20	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senné	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik. Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

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Appendix No. 13

Circle of Cayor

Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

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Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

l: Marty-137 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
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Appendix No. 14
Circle of Cayor.

List by provinces and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibes
Province of Saniakhor				
Salihou Dieng.	Ouolof	Maka.	Momar Dieng.	10
Makhouria Khandji.	"	Sakh.	Assane Gaye.	7
Balla Goye.	"	Kabh.	Ditialao Gaye.	4
Mamour Thiam.	"	"	Alassane Faye.	4
Samba Tacine Ka.	"	Sioual.	Samba Tacine	3
Ndioukou Diagne.	"	Mborine.	Solimane Niang	2
Matar Fal.	"	Ndiaye Diamba-gname.	Masemba Manne	2
Macoumba Guéye.	"	Badar Guèye.	Matar Guèye.	7
Momar Guèye.	"	Taoua.	Ousmane Guèye.	5
Ousmane Guèye	"	"	Samba Khari	5
Balla Guaye.	"	Tiékao.	Birama Guèye	20
Assan Fal.	"	Gouye Mbaye	Amadou Bamba.	10
Mabèye Bèye	"	Médina. Gandiaye near	Ibra Fal.	17
Marouba Guèye	"	Piré.	Amadou Bamba	30

l: Marty--138 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Ouarka Khan	Ouolof.	Kour Momar Ouarka.	Amadou Bamba	20
Sheik Amadou Bakê Sar.	"	Keur Moussa Mbakê.	"	20
Mousa Diaye.	"	Fassel.	"	20
Baba Ngom Khaliomba.	"	Khandane.	"	20
Mamadou Senne.	"	"	"	20
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Sheik Mangoné Sek.	Ouolof.	Ndoyène-Piré.	Amadou Bamba	20
Mdiabélé Ndour.	"	Keur Bakar.	"	20
Stop of Tivouane				
Abdoulaye Thiam.	"	Tivaouane.	Marouba Guèye.	5
Matala Mbaye.	"	Tivaouane. (former griot).	Ibra Fal.	8
Alassane Senne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	7
Ibrahima Diagne	"	"	"	4
Yali Niang.	"	"	Amadou Bamba	
Malik Ndiagne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	6
		(K. Masemba		6
Amadou Nar Diop.	"	Tivaouane (former cadi).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Guèye Maro	"	Tivaouane.	Ibra Fal	15
Balla Diop.	"	Tivaouane. (assessor).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Diop.	"	Tivaouane.	"	

1: Marty--139 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Ibrahima Soghe	Ouolof	Tivaouane (Thiendane).	Ibra Fal..	
Province of Mbakol-Mboul.				
Momar Guèye.	"	Messéré.	Amadou Bamba	10
Momar Gaye.	"	Guembé	"	12
Macodou Diop.	"	Nehlhedje.	"	17
Masemba Diop.	"	Mérina.	"	24
Maouedji Thiam.	"	Thiamène.	"	9
Momar Lahma.	"	Guagame.	"	11
Abdoulaye Fadiaga.	"	Ndiam Nal.	"	12
Momar Sèye.	"	Ndia Hadé.	"	13
Ndari Kane.	"	Kane.	"	18
Amadou Dié Mbaké.	"	Ndiayène Péri.	"	11
Adama Sal.	"	Darou Salam.	"	35
Sheik Malamine Ndiaye.	"	Kelcom.	"	28
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Yéri Diakhaté.	Ouolof	Kelcom	Amadou Bamba	15
Madiara Gnane.	"	Mékbé.	"	5
Ma Hafsa Tiao.	"	Thiamène.	"	11
Ibra Dior.	"	N'Dande (Narbé)	"	21
Mamao Silla.	"	Nakhal-Mamiao	"	24
Mokhtar Marienna.	"	Tiapoura.	"	7
Mostafa Silla.	"	Darou Salam.	"	11
Amor Fal.	"	Niakhal-Boé.	"	8
Momar Silla.	"	Yohma.	"	11
Mokhtar Ougnane.	"	Ndeme.	"	7

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Mbaye.	Ouolof	Afia.	Amadou Bamba	21
Medoume Samba.	"	"	"	6
Diambar Diakhaté.	"	Méoumdou.	"	8
Saër Silla.	"	Fille Dramane	"	15
Ibra Silla.	"	"	"	20
Amadou Binta.	"	"	"	8
Mayacine Ballé.	"	Gouyard.	"	10
Mayacine Dieng.	"	" (Orig. from Maka).	"	20
Amadou Dié.	"	Darou Salam.	"	17
Amor Diakhaté.	"	"	"	15
Masilla Silla.	"	Masilla.	"	30
Alioun Touré.	"	Piré (now at Gossas).	"	50
Mostafa Ndiaye.	"	Diémoul.	"	8
Abdoulaye Dieng.	"	Gouyard.	"	18
Mousa Daro.	"	N'dèye.	"	13
Omar Silla.	"	Ouadia.	"	15
Ali Mané.	"	Meur Madiop.	"	9
Anta Sek.	"	Ndiol.	"	9
Ngagne Tendimé.	Moor	Darou Tendimé.	"	17
Ndiaga Diop.	Ouolof	Ndiob Botol.	"	
Moumar Comba.	"	Mbol	"	
Mbar Dior Siga.	"	Ndiouki (brother of Samba Laobé).	"	50
Anbar Fa.	"	id.	"	
/159/ Issa Diène.	Ouolof.	Ndande.	Amadou Bamba	50

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Guet				
Ibra Fati.	Ouolof	Mbaké.	Amadou Bamba	100
Aramine Mbaké.	"	" (professor).	"	
Matar Binta.	"	Mbaké. (professor).	"	
Thiamba Sèye.	"	Mérine.	"	3
Medieng Dieng.	"	Ndiguène Bamé.	"	8
Momar Diop.	"	Guaéoul.	"	25
Mafari N'Diaye.	"	Baranrang.	"	10
Diéri Sougoufara.	Moor	Ouadane Guet.	"	
Mokhtar Sougoufara.	"	Mosseladje.	"	3
Abdou Kane.	Ouolof	Khébéré Guet.	"	20
Momar Ngoné Fal.	"	Ndiah Guéoul.	"	20
Ndiouga Fal.	"	Keur Amadou Yella.	"	2
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ngaye.	"	2
Aboudalaye Deme.	"	Toumba.	"	2
Medoune Dème.	"	"	"	4
Barra Ndiaye.	"	Tiamène.	"	3
Birahima Kodou Maram.	"	Tilmakha.	"	
Amadou Makhouria.	"	"	"	
Abdou Abbas.	"	Tilmakha (cousin of Lat Dior).	"	
Mokhtar Diop.	"	id.	"	

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Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

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Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	Mbaïène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of North Diambour				
Ibra Guèye.	Ouolof	Keur Ali Sali.	Amadou Bamba	6
Momar Sikéna	"	Lamdou.	"	10
Code Lo.	"	Niomré-Diama.	"	8
Matar Binta Lo.	"	Niomré.	"	18
Medoune Dioumbé.	"	Coki.	"	4
Mansour Diao.	"	Thialène.	"	
Momar Diao.	"	Garki.	"	5
Amadou Anta.	"	Keur Medoune. Mbaye	"	8
Ali N'Dak.	"	Coki.	"	6
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ndiagne.	"	6
Sheik Ibra Sar.	"	Thiarème.	"	40
Marouba Thioune.	"	Ndiagne.	"	3
Ndiao Fal.	"	Ouarak.	"	3
Medoune Samba.	"	Fadane.	"	3
Amadou Lo.	"	Keur Medoune Mbaye	"	4
Amadou Fal.	"	Ndiagne.	"	
Province of South Dianbour.				
Assane N'Diao.	Ouolof.	Darou.	Amadou Bamba	20/162/
Ballo Sek.	"	Thiène.	"	
Ma Diakhaté Lo.	"	Ndam.	"	2
Amadou Mokhtar Diakaté (ex-cadi).	"	"	"	

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Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Macoumba Dia.	Ouolof.	Kaï Dio	Amadou Bamba.	2
Medieke Sek.	"	Thièkème.	"	
Momar Lo.	"	Keur Souley.	"	2
Omar Guèye.	"	Ngondiouro Diop	"	1
Amadou Sar.	"	"	"	7
Momar Sey.	"	Keur Mor Abdou	"	7
Mousa Fal.	"	Khiraoua.	"	
Amor Dia.	"	Keur Matar.	"	
Amor Samba.	"	Ndiamb.	"	
Stop of Louga.				
Ibra Kébi.	"	Louga.	"	10
Sheik Sandiaye Baye	"	"	"	4
Meklou Diao.	"	"	"	
Amadou Sarer (assessor at the tribunal. very favorable).	"	"	"	
Province of Nguick-Merina.				
Amadou Diop.	"	Tendé Biti.	Amadou Anta.	4
N'Diaou N'Diaye.	"	Bigaye.	Ibra Fal.	
Malik Sar.	"	Nguick.	Amadou Bamba.	5
Ibra Fal.	"	Ndabé.	Ibra Fal.	32
Amadou Khari Diaye.	Ouolof.	Roye.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Sidi Sar.	"	Ndiapal Sar.	Ibra Fal.	
Moulay Sar.	"	Keur Paté Siné.	Amadou Bamba	10
Amadou Fal.	"	Nguick.	"	7
Amandou Sar.	"	Dabaye.	"	
Gandiolais. None.				

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*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

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128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood.
798 Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from
[361] the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his
●793 collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 [793] It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] [798] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 *795 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have [317] [496] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, moreover, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 *795 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/18 cont./

788 *795 settles himself. Speeches are then made by the representatives of the authorities and by the Caliph. The latter in his response exalts in general the friendship of France for Islam, assures our country of his faithfulness and affection, and invites his faithful to conduct themselves like good Moslems, like pious disciples of Amadou Bamba, and like loyal and good citizens, thus emphasizing the good understanding which now prevails between the brotherhood and the French administration.

After this ceremony the Magal is ended; while, on the stroke of noon, the Caliph-general is offering an abundant and sumptuous repast to his guests, the first departures of the pilgrims take place. All during the afternoon a large number of faithful arrive home. But those who can do not leave immediately, so that for two to three more days the jammed trains and the overloaded trucks will take back to their villages talibés who are indeed tired, but happy about their pilgrimage and singing the praises of God, the Prophet, and Amadou Bamba.

The Magal is therefore a big affair. When his guests have departed, when the pilgrims have gone home, in the city rid of its cloud of dust, in the silence finally found again with the taking down of the many loud-speakers which broadcast the religious songs and the prayers in the compounds of the priests and around the mosque, Falilou M'Backé can draw up the balance-sheet of this manifestation.

[793] The Magal allows the brotherhood to measure its strength and cohesion; it permits its members to approach the Caliph-general, who, for them, is a saint whose only goal is to realize down here the wishes of Amadou Bamba. Finally, it permits their supreme leader to measure their faithfulness to his person and their attachment to the brotherhood. The one and the other are still very solid and strong nowadays, since the amount of the gifts collected at the last few Magal is on the order of 150,000,000 CFA francs.

A manifestation of the vitality of Muridism, the Magal is also a Senegalese event; many people who are not Murids go

/18 cont./

788 *795 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the [204] [207] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and participate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

• 793 *795 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance, it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he [533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

/19 cont./
●793 of Amadou Bamba. He has thus surmounted the difficulties of
F795 the beginning of his caliphate and has become and remained the venerated and uncontested leader of the brotherhood, even for those of the Murids who are in the direct obedience of Cheikh M'Backé.

Falilou M'Backé resides permanently in Touba very near the mosque, which is therefore, along with the general leadership of the brotherhood, his principal concern. He seldom leaves the holy city, where he lives in a very large carré, with installations, with multiple huts, and the tapades (walls) of which, in a complicated design, jealously hide the life of the
[342] occupants. Most of these huts are made of clay and roofed with thatch; some larger ones, roofed with metal, well-built, and comfortably furnished, are used for putting up guests of note. According to a custom common among the Murid marabouts, he had a kind of office made for himself (where he receives his important visitors) in a plank hut built by those of his talibés who are carpenters and woodworkers.

/20/ Of medium height, robust, active in spite of his age, the second caliph has the bearing of a rural head of a family; in addition, he has the shrewdness, wisdom, and tenacity of the peasant. His conversation, like his whole person, is stamped with moderation, gentleness, and goodness. His cares are often of a material order (construction of the mosque, good management of the brotherhood, yield of his plantations, etc....), but preoccupations of an intellectual, moral, and spiritual order are not foreign to him. Simple images and a certain Oriental emphasis give an individual and personal style to his conversations.

As far as the Administration is concerned, he is a level-headed and calm leader whose loyalty it can count on. He is an element of order and thoughtfulness who will be hostile toward untried ventures and dangerous innovations. Besides, he knows that the Administration widely supported and favored his candidacy for the caliphate. He therefore has no reason to create difficulties for it.

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●793 *795 The Caliph-general seldom leaves Touba. He sends representatives to the chief town or to the circles to visit his talibés or to deal with administrative questions in the offices. If he goes away, he rarely goes far; in general, he goes as far as his groundnut plantations located a few kilometers from Touba. There he calls on the talibés, who, according to Murid doctrine, work for him while he himself prays for them and in their place. These plantations give him the millet necessary for feeding the people who live with him in Touba, and groundnuts whose sale will assure him of sizable personal revenues.

Immediately after Falilou M'Backé at the head of the brotherhood come his brother, Bassirou M'Backé, and his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, about whom we have already said a few words just above. Since 1947 these two Sérignes have been, respectively, Vice-President and Secretary of the Murid Administrative Council which Falilou created to manage the funds intended for the construction of the mosque, and of which he is President.

Bassirou is regarded in principle as the "dauphin" of the brotherhood, the designated and legitimate successor to Falilou. He is very different from his brother. Tall, thin, with a long face and regular features, Bassirou has a great deal of presence and fine bearing. He studied at Boutilimit during the lifetime of Cheikh Sidiya Baba. Very cultivated and well-read, his conversation is as interesting as it is agreeable.

In spite of the important position that he occupies at the head of the brotherhood, he does not appear to maintain either excellent relations or very frequent contacts with his brother.

In 1953 he came to settle in Diourbel after definitely leaving /21/ Boulel in the subdivision of Kaffrine, where he had been making tests of mechanical and motorized cultivation in the Bloc Expérimental de l'Arachide /Experimental Bloc for Groundnuts/ in co-operation with the Service de l'Agriculture and thanks to the manpower of his talibés. [654]

He is now imam of the Diourbel mosque, whose restoration he would like to undertake. It is actually a very beautiful [346]

/21 cont./

793 *795 [34] building which does not have the importance of the Mosque of Touba, but which surpasses in elegance the other mosques of Senegal, and which, because of this, would merit having made on it the necessary and urgent repairs which certain parts that are very damaged and in very bad condition require at present.

But Bassirou does not have only this architectural interest; he is also concerned with crops. His experience with the Service de l'Agriculture not having given him satisfaction, he works in a more classical and traditional fashion near the village of Tip, located in the canton of Kaël some 30 kilometers to the south of Touba. This installation did not fail to provoke some protests on the part of the Peul stockbreeders of the canton, but these difficulties seem to have been settled amicably later on.

The third person in the brotherhood in the order of precedence is, as we have said, Cheikh M'Backé, eldest son of Amadou Moustapha and nephew of the two preceding men. Much younger than his uncles, he also has a very different demeanor. A tall, well-built, handsome, clean-shaven man, he has the bearing and the activities of a modern businessman. In fact, he is ambitious; he wants to succeed; he needs a great deal of money in order to realize his ambitions, and his very functions as a Murid marabout provide it for him.

We have seen that he had solicited, as the direct descendant of the founder, the post of caliph, but that he had been ousted in favor of his uncle. Since then he has always remained in more or less violent opposition to Falilou M'Backé. Nevertheless, he has not succeeded in detaching from the latter even a small fraction of the Murids. His opposition has sometimes been the cause of regrettable acts. In 1952, among others at the time of the elections to the Territorial Assembly, Cheikh M'Backé had made himself the champion of the S.F.I.O. when Falilou was supporting the B. D. S. (and undoubtedly because he was supporting it). This opposition provoked rather violent incidents in Touba during the electoral campaign, some talibés

666 793 *795

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•793 *795 [666] of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Talf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[801] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the [312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/22 cont./

•793 *795 regions veritable villages of which they are practically the chiefs and the imams.

One of the most remarkable of these men, settled thus in the subdivision of Diourbel, is Mamadou Khabane M'Backé, a big producer of groundnuts and a big businessman. Sérigne Tacko and Sérigne Mamadou Mahmoune, son of Cheikh Anta, and Sérigne Awa M'Balla M'Backé live in about the same fashion. All of these marabouts have a direct influence on a variable number of talibés, for whom they are, in a way, "guides of conscience" and who are attached through them to the Caliph-general. Finally, let us mention the marabout of Darou-Kafour, settled in a little village on the road from Diourbel to M'Backé, who lives modestly in a small establishment. He does not raise crops on a large scale; he devotes himself in particular to directing his Koranic school, /23/ and [734] he has made a specialty of caring for the insane. By his gentleness and patience he succeeds in curing the ones whom the Service de Santé /Health Service/ has given up keeping and treating.

793 *795 795 The Murid brotherhood is thus thoroughly staffed and directed by all these marabouts who truly have their talibés in hand and who hold them all the better because they bring them a simple and practical solution to the problem, distressing for every man: "What will become of me after death?" .... Every Murid knows that if he has worked for his marabout and has given him a tithe from his goods and income, he will go directly to Paradise, for his marabout, in exchange for his work and gifts, prays for him and will save him without his having to concern himself about his salvation, even if he has gravely sinned.

*795 793 It is this complete hold that the Murid marabouts have over their disciples which originally caused the brotherhood to be regarded as dangerous and which, joined to the ambitions of Amadou Bamba, provoked difficulties and collisions with the Administration. By now this mistrust and opposition have given

/23 cont./

793 *795 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 631 793 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 *795 652 631 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances, but it remains important. Relations between the heads of administrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de [654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 162 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around [793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

/24 cont./

* 795 • 793 [162] farming villages (dara) which the marabouts have established in the bush, sometimes at the expense of non-Murid native villages. The tonnages of groundnuts which they produce there can bring their marabout more than a million CFA francs a year, provided that each one has about a hundred talibés (which is not out of the ordinary) to work for him. If one remembers that the talibés who do not work directly for the marabout pay him a tithe from their salaries and their income, one can easily realize the financial facilities which a Murid religious leader can enjoy.

The faithful do not object at all to thus feeding the treasury of their Sérigne ... on the contary!

Here is a little anecdote which will prove that even the poorest do it readily and willingly:

One day, a "Great Marabout" crossing Diourbel in his Chrysler stopped in an avenue of the city to greet the subdivision head whom he had just passed and to exchange a few words with him. Just beside them, at the foot of a mango tree on the edge of the avenue, an old woman was settled, selling fruit on a wretched basket. As soon as the "commander" had left, this old woman approached the car, whose occupant she had recognized, and at the same time as she paid her respects to him gave him the money that she had with her, perhaps all of her meager receipts for the morning.

This explains why it is that the representatives of the marabouts who go from city to city collecting from the disciples who do not till the soil for the benefit of their patrons never come back empty-handed, and that the Murid officials would never go to the Magal without bringing to their marabouts substantial gifts, in money or in kind, to allow them to organize the receptions they give on this occasion in their Touba residences.

As a consequence of this, one will not be surprised at the lavishness of the way of life that at least some, if not all, of the Murid "Great Marabouts" can lead. They live in /25/ modern, in truth luxurious establishments, a permanent house,

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Failou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My [352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows [513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

/25 cont./

● 793 * 795 244 [555] and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of producing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his marabout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they [433] alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 * 795 518 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows. Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions [622] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey [632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 * 795 666 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/26 cont./

793 will have their talibés vote in favor of their parties. When one
*795 knows what the influence of the marabouts and the discipline
666 of the brotherhood are, one can easily imagine what a formidable ace such an alliance can be for a party. But to be allied with one party is necessarily to be the adversary of the other (or others). If Murid fanaticism (and organization) is thrown into the electoral struggles, it can be the cause of serious troubles. Certainly these troubles would not compromise the loyalty of the brotherhood vis-à-vis the mother country, but they would create serious difficulties for the local administration and the government of the territory.

793 In other respects, deeper reasons can provoke lively op-
*795 position or even struggles between the great Murid leaders and
[665] certain politicians (or certain parties). Thus some Senegalese political personalities are beginning to criticize the way the marabouts act against their talibés. One of them has gone so far as to utter the words "servitude" and "feudalism" in speaking of Muridism /27/ to a high European official. It is certain that a virulent campaign could be made on this theme against the Murid leaders and especially against those whose ostentatious luxury can excite jealousy.

For their part, the Murid marabouts try to maintain their authority and their influence over their disciples and, in that way, over the whole country. They will be opposed to any social or political innovation which will give more power to the masses, and which, by so doing, will risk compromising their authority, counterbalancing it, or even combatting it.
[654] They were thus hostile in 1953 to the transformation of the Société de Prévoyance of Baol into the Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale, on the one hand, because they thought that authority should not be entrusted to the people, and, on the other hand, because they feared that a S. M. P. R. presided over by an African (as was happening already at the time in the circle of Thiès) might be less favorable toward them than the traditional S. P. completely in the hands of the Administration.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 3,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

● 793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with
[788] them. Violent incidents involving political enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[P. 13 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
•[193] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 (3) A last example involves recrea-
665 tional activities organized at the end of the year around the exhibition of the
578 "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 This process also has another side: the
665 parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

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8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[45] Often, youths whose studies had been interrupted. It was difficult for them to achieve occupational stability.

[46] Its policies called for a renovation of Islam, so that it came more or less directly into opposition with the great Brotherhoods, whose religious formalism was rather marked; the latter retained a generally dominant influence.

[p. 15 c]

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8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 than the relatively inflexible political par-
668 ties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 As distinct from many other parts of
668 Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a
193 religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[48]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 Cultural associations and youth move-
595 ments have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

[P. 15 B]